

Message Text

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44

ACTION STR-04

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 SP-02 AID-05 EB-07 NSC-05 CIEP-01 TRSE-00

SS-15 OMB-01 CEA-01 COME-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00

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FM USDEL MTN GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 315

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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PASS STR

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PASS AMB WALKER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ETRD GATT

SUBJECT: MTN: WALKER-LONG CONVERSATION

1. IN FOLLOW-UP CONVERSATION SUBSEQUENT TO TNC MEETING,
GATT DG LONG AND AMB WALKER EXCHANGED FOLLOWING VIEWS ON
NEXT PHASE OF MTN:

2. LONG THOUGHT TNC HAD GONE ABOUT AS FAR AS POSSIBLE IN
FASHIONING CONSENSUS AROUND CONCEPT OF CONCRETE PROGRESS IN
NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS. HE WAS RELEIVED THAT THIS TIME IT HAD
BEEN POSSIBLE TO CLOSE TNC WITH CHAIRMAN'S SUMMING UP WOTHOUT
NEGOTIATING LANGUAGE OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE, BUT STATED HIS
VIEW THAT "IT WON'T WORK THE NEXT TIME." AMB WALKER
INDICATED GENERAL US SATISFACTION WITH OUTCOME OF
MEETING, THOUGH NOT ALL US OBJECTIVES FULLY
ACHIEVED.

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3. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: LONG THOUGHT THAT LDCS HAD ON THE WHOLE BEHAVED RESPONSIBLY EVEN THOUGH EX-PRESSING SHARP DISAPPOINTMENT DURING THIS TNC. AMB WALKER'S ASSESSMENT WAS THAT WHILE LDCS HAD COMPLAINED, THEY HAD NOT BEEN OF ONE MIND AS TO WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE IN EVENT OF A REAL CONFRONTATION, AND THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE DISAGREEMENTS AMONG THEMSELVES. HE FURTHER THOUGHT THAT BY TIME OF NEXT TNC, WE WOULD BE MAKING SUFFICIENT PROGRESS TO SATISFY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PARTIALLY. WHILE THEY WOULD NOT HAVE ALL WANTS MET, THERE WOULD BE ENOUGH TO DISSUADE THEM FROM ESCALATING PROTESTS, AND IF THIS WERE THE CASE, RISK OF SERIOUS LDC DISRUPTION NOT GREAT. LONG, HOWEVER, WAS STILL FEARFUL THAT EVEN IF DISORGANIZED, LDCS COULD AT LEAST AGREE ON OPPOSING INITIATIVES BY THE DCs. IN HIS VIEW, PRIMARY DC TASK WAS TO INCREASE EFFORT TO TALK TO LDCS EXTENSIVELY ON QUESTIONS OF DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT AND SPECIAL PROCEDURES (LONG CONFESSED MEANING OF LATTER TERM A MYSTERY TO HIM). COMMENT: LONG CLEARLY HAS DEEP APPREHENSION OVER POTENTIAL DISRUPTIONS BY LDCS AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD PROCEEDINGS MUST BE VIEWED IN THIS LIGHT. END COMMNET.

4. BIG THREE-LONG WAS CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT COULD BE EXPECTED FROM US, EC, AND JAPAN IN COMING MONTHS AND INDICATED HE WOULD BE TALKING SEPARATELY WITH ALL THREE. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE "SPONSORS" OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE GENERALLY COMMITTED TO DO SOMETHING, SINCE ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS WOULD DO NOTHING OTHERWISE. THEY OFTEN COMPLAIN THAT BIG THREE MAKE ALL KEY DECISIONS, BUT IN FACT, THEY NEVER PREPARED TO MOVE UNLESS BIG THREE ARE. MORE SPECIFICALLY, LONG THOUGHT KEY INGREDIENT WAS US-EC UNDERSTANDING ON WHERE THINGS OUGHT TO GO, SINCE JAPANESE AT THIS STAGE WOULD HAVE TO BE PERSUADED INTO FORWARD MOVEMENT. ONLY US-EC AGREED COURSES OF ACTION COULD PUSH JAPANESE INTO ACTING. LONG HAD GAINED CLEAR IMPRESSION FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH MIYAZAKI THAT WEAK POSITION OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WAS SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS.

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5. IN LONG'S VIEW IT WOULD BE VITAL TO GIVE EC-US AGRICULTURE IMPASSE POLITICAL-LEVEL ATTENTION, FOR PROGRESS TO BE MADE; THIS WOULD BE ONE OF MAIN POINTS IN HIS TALKS WITH EC OFFICIALS. AMB WALKER MENTIONED HIS UPCOMING VISIT TO BRUSSELS TO TALK WITH SOAMES, WHICH AIMED AT THIS RESULT. US WOULD BE ACTIVELY PROCEEDING ON BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH EC TO HELP

MAKE PROGRESS IN MTN AS A WHOLE. LONG WAS PLEASED WITH THIS.

6. LONG'S ROLE. DG ADVISED THAT HE NOW PLANS TO BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN THE "MANAGEMENT" OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN HIS VIEW MTN MOVING INTO NEW PHASE WHERE NEGOTIATING STRUCTURE NOW BASICALLY DETERMINED AND BEING STRENGTHENED BY PROCESS OF REAL WORK UNDERWAY. HE HAD BEEN HOLDING BACK ON PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT AND ACTIVISM BY SECRETARIAT UNTIL ALL PARTIES REACHED UNDERSTANDING ON ACCEPTABLE STRUCTURE. THIS NOW IN PLACE OR AT LEAST PROVIDED FOR. IN RESPONSE TO AMB WALKER'S QUERY, LONG SAID THAT BY "MANAGEMENT" HE MEANT THAT HE WOULD BE STAYING IN CLOSE TOUCH FROM THIS POINT ON WITH KEY PEOPLE IN KEY QUARTERS, BOTH IN GENEVA AND CAPITALS, AND THAT HE EXPECTED TO HAVE INCREASING NUMBER OF INFORMAL RESTRICTED MEETINGS ON VARIOUS TOPICS, WITH ATTENDANCE BY COUNTRIES CHANGING AS APPROPRIATE TO SUBJECT. HE STATED HE WOULD BE GOING TO BRUSSELS IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. COMMENT: LONG FEELS RESPONSIBILITY AT LEAST TO BE PERCEIVED AS TAKING ON THIS "MANAGEMENT" ROLE. HOWEVER, IN LIGHT OF HIS INSTINCT AND PERSONALITY, AND THE TRACK RECORD OF HIS EXPERIENCE AS DG, HIS ASSERTIONS MUST BE VIEWED SKEPTICALLY. END COMMENT.

7. AMB WALKER NOTED THAT WE GETTING REPORTS THAT SOME PARTNERS ARE DRAWING CONCLUSION THAT US NO LONGER SERIOUSLY SEEKING EARLY RESULTS, SINCE OPPORTUNITY TO GET AGREEMENTS THROUGH CONGRESS EFFECTIVELY PREEMPTED UNTIL 1977. HE REQUESTED THAT LONG FORCEFULLY CHALLENGE THIS VIEW WHENEVER ENCOUNTERED, INFORMING HIM IN VERY STRONG TERMS THAT US PREPARED TO PROCEED WITH SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THIS FALL. LONG APPRECIATED THIS STATEMENT AND SAID HE WOULD DELIVER MESSAGE. IN HIS OPINION, PEOPLE MAKING THESE NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS WERE SAME ONES WHO FIRST SAID THERE WOULD BE NO TRADE BILL, AND NOW THAT NEGOTIATIONS FULLY ENGAGED, WERE SEEKING SIGNS OF FAILURE. HE SPECIFICALLY CITED FRENCH BUREAUCRACY. AMB WALKER NOTED THAT HE WOULD BE KEEPING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH DE MOREL WHO HAD GISCARD'S CONFIDENCE. LONG THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL.

8. THIS MESSAGE CLEARED BY AMBASSADOR WALKER BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR BRUSSELS. MCNAMARA

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